

## Representation of Religion in *Nepali Brihat Shabdakosh*- (2075)

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### Abstract

*Nepali Brihat Shabdakosh* (2075 B. S), claims that it has selected those lexical items which are available in the Nepali speech communities. This article contends the claim and proposes of lexicographers' ideology guides the content of the dictionary. It focuses on: How different religions/religious people are named and referred to linguistically? What kind of religious traits, features, qualities and features are ascribed to them? How are the lexical items related to religion are explained, defined and presented? To meet the objectives, it implies qualitative approach and uses content analysis method to exhibit the disproportional representation of religions in the *Kosh*. *Swatantra Varna 'Ra'* is selected for this purpose. Critical discourse analysis is used as a tool to scrutinize the lexical items. Primarily all the lexical items under the *Swatantra Varna 'Ra'* are studied and a list of lexicons related to all religions is prepared. Then the selected lexicons are scrutinized from the lenses of critical discourse analysis to meet the objectives of the study. The findings establish the fact that Hinduism is overlexicalized and other religions are excluded, misrepresented, backgrounded, underlexicalized/overlexicalized, intensified and mitigated. This signifies that the whole *Kosh*-2075 reflects the psyche of Hindu Brahmin upper-class lexicographers.

**Keywords:** Critical Discourse Analysis, Exclusion, Fore/Back Ground, Misrepresentation, Underlexicalized/ Overlexicalized

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## Introduction

This article concentrates on representation of religion in *Nepali Brihat Shabdakosh* (2075 B.S). First published under the patronage of the then King Birendra Shah in 2040 B.S. by the then Royal Nepal Academy as a symbol of national integration and linguistic nationalism, *Nepali Brihat Shabdakosh* is the only comprehensive and unabridged monolingual dictionary of Nepal and its national language Nepali. The *Shabdakosh* claims that it has selected those items which are available in the Nepali speech communities. The compilers claim that *Kosh* has included only those words which are practiced in people's linguistic behavior (speech communities) and literatures of Nepali language (Nepal Pragya Pratisthan 18).

## Statement of the problem

Dictionaries are often defined as "records of the vocabulary used by members of a speech community" (Atkins and Rundell 2). *Kosh* has been revised, improvised and reprinted but no one has cared about the issue of it being highly biased and manipulative. Although the latest improvised version of *Shabdakosh* published in 2075 B. S. has arrived but this also falls in the same pit. Eagleton, in his *Ideology and its Vicissitudes in Western Marxism*, presents an extensive assessment of the term "ideology". Ideology, he asserts is a kind of synecdoche, a part standing for the whole. It is a kind of reification. Ideology refers specifically to the way power struggles are fought out at the level of signification (Eagleton 179-226).

People are positioned differently by the power relationships into which they are embedded and these positions impact on the access, production and circulation system of meanings (Louw 4). Hence discourse production and dissemination of meaning according to Louw is a power play. It is evident that the words which are assembled in *Kosh* are likely to reflect the prejudices and preferences of the dictionary compilers who belong to the mainstream so-called "upper caste." Hence lexicographers' ideology guides the content of the dictionary turning it to be highly biased. Language is heteroglot from top to bottom. It represents the coexistence of socio-ideological forms between different groups (Bakhtin 291).

Halliday posits that the "going-on" of human life/society can be sorted out (represented) through the patterns of the elements (lexis and syntax, etc.) of language. Grammar goes beyond the formal rules of correctness. It enables human beings to make sense of their experience (101). As the experience is projected in the language the lexicographers too cannot stop themselves. Not only this, any object can be exchanged for any other in this "superstitious fusion of words

and things” (Rasmussen 27). In such a world, “words,” “images,” and “ideologies are inseparably fused.” In this circumstance this study tries to figure out the problem of dictionary from the neutral stand point and it brings into visibility the kind of discriminatory ideology along with hegemonic and mystificatory language structures. *Language and Control* by Fowler et. al. developed a new area and aspect in socio-linguistics well known as Critical Linguistics and the theorists and the authors contended that “there are strong and pervasive connections between linguistic structure and social structure,” and “the world-view comes to language-users from their relation to the institutions and the socio-economic structure of their society” (Fowler and Kress 185).

Hence, this study employs Critical Discourse Analysis as a tool of inquiry to demonstrate how *Nepali Brihat Shabdakosh* represents religion to perpetuate the asymmetry between people following different religions. In doing so, it also describes how the lexicographer's perspectives/worldviews are intruded into the *Kosh* with regard to religion. Several lexicographical/discursive elements and strategies can be found which, in critical discourse-analytical view can be employed to explore the text. Selecting different linguistic or rhetorical means by which people are discriminated against men on the name of religion.

The study aims at: bringing some mystificatory language structures into visibility and analyzing the semantic and syntactic levels of the *Kosh* to demonstrate how the disproportionate representation is established in terms of religion. To do so the study concentrates on how are different religions/religious people named and referred to linguistically? What kind of religious traits, features, and qualities are ascribed to them? How are lexical items related to religion are explained, defined and presented in the *Kosh* and how these lead to the discursive strategies, which are all involved in the positive self- and negative other-presentation?

For the purpose of analyzing the representation of religion critical discourse analysis and other rhetorical strategy is used in the analysis. The study has committedly qualitative orientation to linguistic and social understanding. It employs tools as spatialization, biologization, originalization, somatization, ethnification, politicization, racialization, primitivization, civilization, linguification, naming, repetition, foregrounding/backgrounding and relationalization borrowed from Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak's *Discourse and Discrimination*. As a part of social scientific research, the study, although it taxonomically analyses the data, it is based mainly on qualitative principles. The primary text is *Nepali Brihat Shabdakosh-2075*. 'Ra'

from 'Swatantra Varnas' (pp.1051-1089 Kosh) is selected. At first all the lexical items that are collected under the *Swatantra Varna 'Ra'* are studied and a list of lexicons related to all religions is prepared. Then the selected lexicons are scrutinized from the lenses of critical discourse analysis to meet the objectives of the study. The study is limited to analyzing only the *Swatantra Varna 'Ra'* chosen as a random *Varna* to collect the samples. Further the samples are analyzed employing only critical discourse analysis.

**Representation of religion in Nepali Brihat Shabdakosh (2075).**

**Ra** (1051-1089)

**Rakshabandhan** (a Hindu festival held on the full moon of the month of Shrawan when a ceremonial thread is tied round the wrist) (a ceremonial thread) (1053)-The mentioned lexical entry is described from Hinduized/ religionisation perspective with the use of religionyms as *yagya* and *devaarchan*. Instrumentalisation is also used because on the basis of *Rakshabandhan* one can categorize a person belonging to a particular group/ ethnicity/ religion.

**Raksaal** (Religious) (a vow to offer something to gods or goddesses if the wishes are fulfilled) (to make such a vow) (1053)-It belongs to religionisation, culturization, traditionalization and socialization. The ideologies embedded in this reflect the problems associated with the lexicographers.

**Raghu** (Mythological) (name of a celebrated king of the solar race, son of Dilipa and father of Aja) (the dynasty of Raghu) (an epithet of Ram) (the famous epic written by the great poet Kalidas) (of the dynasty or the line of king Raghu) (1054)-over lexicalization. is employed by providing ancestral description of Hindu king.

**Ranghadhiveta** (the goddess supposed to preside over sports and public diversions generally) (1055)-it is Hinduized perception using religionyms which is category of culturalisation. Cultural performances categorize people.

**Raj** (menstrual discharge, menses) (a small particle, dust (of matter)) (the dust or pollen of flowers) (the second of three *gunas* or constituent qualities of all material substances) (1056)- it uses genderonyms as *Naariharu*. Hinduized, culturalised, traditionalised and male perspective is employed to describe. The entry does not provide the exact meaning instead it manipulates according to the lexicographers' interest.

**Rajaswala** (menstruation, period) (the woman in her period) (a girl of marriageable age) (1056)-traditional, cultural, social, religious and patriarchal version has been portrayed to describe the term. The entry is also victim of stereotypical description, insult, exclusion, suppression, and overlexicalization and underlexicalization.

**Rajoguna** (the quality of passion; the second of three natural qualities of creatures) (having or relating to the quality of passion, passionate) (1057)-prescribed meaning is Hinduized version this indicates that lexicographers have generalized the term and presented the Hindu/Sanskrit meaning.

**Rajodarshan** (the first appearance of the menstruation excretion) (menstruation, period) (1057)-language is sophisticated and coated with the Sanskrit terminologies which clarifies that the lexicographers are blindfolded with Hinduism and its ideology.

**Rajodharma** (same as earlier) (1057)-Lexical item lacks exact meaning and the word is described from patriarchal point of view which trivializes, insult, exclude, dominate women.

**Ratnu** (to learn by rote) (to repeat, to reiterate) (to practice) (1057)-though item is neutral but the definition categorizes it to be a Hinduized terminology. Lexicographers are not capable of seeing anything out of their set ideologies.

**Rana-chandi** (virago, termagant) (completely upset, extremely furious) (1058)-it defines the Hindu Goddess hence it is Hinduized version of the term.

**Ranalaxmi** (Mythological) (war-goddess) (1058)-Hinduized.

**Ratan-naath** (a famous yogi of Gorakhanath) (1058)-refers to a Hindu saint.

**Rati** (sexual intercourse, copulation, coitus) (love, fondness) infatuation, attraction, inclination) (beauty) (mythological) (the goddess of love, the wife of *Kama* or *Cupid*) (1058)-This entry is described from Hinduized perspective and the description is about a mythological character. Along with this the Sanskrit meaning of the term is also provided which reflect the set patriarchal, Hinduized version of lexicon.

**Rateuli** (Hinduism) the show (song, dance and recreation) performed by women throughout night at bridegroom's house after he is sent off to bride's house in wedding ceremony) (1059)-it refers a cultural performance associated to Hinduism hence is described from Hindu perspective.

**Ratna** (Buddhism) one of the five *Bodhisattvas* (son of Ratnasambhava) (1059)-Lexical item is described from Hinduism and Buddhism. The mythological characters of both the religions

are mentioned. The term also falls in the category of culturalisation and religionisation because it gives that meaning too.

**Ratha** (chariot) (carriage) (vehicle (as of gods)) (body) (leg) (1059)-The word refers to an instrument used in cultural and ritual performance. It is instrumentalisation, culturalisation, traditionalisation and religionisation.

**Rada** (tooth; tusk (of an elephant) (astrology) a word denoting the number thirty-two) (1059)-This is pure description of religionisation.

**Ramjaan** (one of the Muslim's principal festivals) (1061)-The word refers to a ritual performed by Muslims. The word is an instance of religionisation, culturalisation, underlexicalization and highly discriminatory. The lexicographers have not provided the complete information about the term. This also is explained in a Hinduized version.

**Ramal** ((astrology) fortune telling by lines or figures drawn in the sand or ground) (1061)-The lexicon is explained from Hinduized version as the term refers to *Jyotish* which is Hindu.

**Rama** ((mythology) an epithet of goddess Laxmi) (wife, housewife) (beauty) (wealth, property) (1061)-As the term refers to Hindu goddess it is explained in Hinduized manner.

**Ramapati** ((mythology) Rama's husband: Vishnu) (1061)-Similarly, *Ramapati* refers to Hindu god it is explained in Hinduized manner.

**Rambha-rambhoru** (banana-tree, plantain) ((mythology) one of the powers of Shiva; Gauri) ((mythology) one of the nymphs of heaven) (a woman having plump and well-shaped thighs like that of banana stumps, a plump woman) (1062)-The lexical entry is explained from the Hinduized perspective because it refers to Hindu goddess. It also indicates some mythological character too. Apart from this with the help of the suffix added to it the term refers to lady but the explanation portrayed is highly patriarchal stressing and valorizing male gaze.

**Ravi** (sun) (1062)-Only the Hinduized and Sanskrit elucidation is provided leaving out the rest. The term is underlexicalized.

**Rasa** (1062)-Hinduized illustration is provided hence the term is underlexicalized.

**Raanke** (the day after the Shrawan Shankranti) (1065)-The explanation given is highly biased because it lacks information. It is underlexicalized because the meaning provided is from the set ideologies of the lexicographers.

**Raka** (the full moon day (particularly the night)) (1066)-it is explained from Hinduized perspective. The explanation is all about Hindu mythic characters.

**Rakhal** (life time, span of one's life) ((mythology) an epithet of lord Vishnu) (1067)-The given entry proposes the Hinduized version of meaning to the lexical item and the word also refers to Hindu god.

**Raghav** ((mythology) an epithet of Ram) ((mythology a descendant of Raghu) (whale fish) (1067)

**Raaj** (rule, reign; government, administration) (country, kingdom, state) ((honor) taking seat) (province belonging to the state or king) (royalty, kingly state) (1067)-Although the term is the neutral one but the description provided is hinduized and sanskritatized. Not only this, the use of Sanskrit terminologies glosses it as Sanskrit term. The word is falls in the category of generalization.

*Raaj, Rajakaaj, Raajkiya, Rajkumar, Rajkul, Rajakulo, Rajgaddi, Rajguthi, Rajguru, Rajguhya, Rajgriha, Rajgharana, Rajchinha, Rajjyotishi, Rajtantra, Rajtilak, Rajtez, Rajatva, Rajdanda, Rajdaya, Rajdarba, Rajdoot, Rajdroha, Rajdwar, Rajdharma, Rajdhani, Rajneeti, Rajneetigya, Rajanya, Rajpagari, Rajpandit, Rajpatni, Rajpatra, Rajpad, Rajparivaar, Rajparishad, Rajpaat, Rajpaal, Rajputra, Rajpurush, Rajpurohit, Rajput, Rajpratinidhi, Rajpraasad, Rajbandi, Rajbhakta, Rajbhawan, Rajbhaar, Rajmandook, Rajmahal, Rajmahishi, Rajmukut, Rajyog, Rajrakshak, Rajraaj, Rajrajeshwor, Rajarshi, Rajlakshan, Rajraj* (1067-1070).

All items have the same root word *Raj*. The overlexicalization of *raj* designates that the lexicographers would like to eulogize the then monarchy by making extensive use of the words related to *Raj/King*. Along with this, the dictionary/ *Kosh* is sponsored by the state and the state is ruled by the king. The word *raj* itself is from Sanskrit hence it provides the sanskritatized concept hence all the new coined words adding suffixes and prefixes also resemble the same. The meaning provided to all the mentioned terms reflect Hinduized version of the meanings.

**Ratomatasyendranath** (a Hindu god (in whose honor the procession called *Bhote Jatra* is performed in Lalitpur district of Nepal)) (1073)-The terms refer to a Hindu god hence the description too is Hinduized. The term refers to culturalisation and religionisation.

**Radha** ((mythology) maiden from Braj who is the eternal consort of Krishna; a manifestation of Krishna and yet distinct from him) (prosperity, success) (mythology) name of the foster



mother of Karna) (the full-moon day in the month of Vaisakha) (lunar mansion called Bisakha) (1073)-The term refers to the name of Hindu mythological characters.

**Radhika** (same as earlier) (1073)-the name of Hindu mythological characters.

**Ram** ((mythology) the divine hero Ram, the son of Dasharath and Kaushlya) (God) (seventh avtar of Vishnu also called Ramachandra) (the word denoting 'one' in the measurement of weight) (procession, entertainment) (1073)-it refers to the name of Hindu mythological character and the Hindu god. It is overlexicalized by the redundancy.

**Ramayan** (the Sanskrit epic, composed ca. 200 B.C.E. TO 200 C.E. by Valmiki, which narrates the story of Ram's search for his wife, Sita abducted by Ravana and kept captive in Lanka) (1074)-it falls in the category of instrumentalisation, synecdoche, overlexicalization, religionisation, culturalisation and traditionalisation.

**Ramanuj** ((mythology) the brothers of Ram, esp. Laxman) (the name of a renowned Hindu philosopher) (1074)-The mentioned lexical item refers to the name of Hindu mythological characters and the Hindu god.

**Rameshwar** (the famous temple on the Island between India and Srilanka; one of the four sacred places or shrines of Hindus) (1074)-The term refers to a holy place hence it is the instance of spatialisation. The lexicon also falls in the category of religionisation, culturalisation, traditionalisation and underlexicalisation. The meaning only highlights the hinduized aspect rather than its original meaning.

**Ramoram** (a term of swearing) (1074)-The word presented here is linguification. With the help of linguonyms the lexicon is categorized into a group. The explanation refers to religionisation, culturalisation, traditionalisation and underlexicalisation.

**Raavan/Raavanne** (mythology) son of a Brahmin father, Vishrava, but became an Asura because his mother Kailei was from the Asura clan and because of his atrocities Vishnu had to descend to earth as Ram in order to kill him) (1075)-Lexicon refers to a Hindu mythological character hence it reflects religionisation, culturalisation, traditionalisation and underlexicalisation.

**Rashi** (mass or heap of things) (a sign of the zodiac) (number) (1075)-The entry is explained from Hinduized perspective.

**Raas/Raslila** ((mythology) round-dance of the lord Krishna with the head girls of Braj) (noise, clamor) (words, sound) (1076)-This refers to a performance in the Hindu myth. And the



lexicon refers to a Hindu mythological character hence it reflects religionisation, culturalisation, traditionalisation and underlexicalization.

**Rahu** (north node of the Moon; dragon's head; supposed to swallow the moon during lunar eclipse) (1077)-it is described from Hinduized perspective and the description is about a mythological character. Along with this the Sanskrit meaning of the term is also provided which reflect the set patriarchal, hinduized version of lexicon.

**Ringigumba** (1077)-The term refers to a holy Buddhist gumba; hence it is the instance of spatialisation. The lexicon also is falls in the category of religionisation, culturalisation, traditionalisation and underlexicalisation. The meaning only highlights the hinduized aspect rather than its original meaning.

**Richo** (the Veda's mantra) (1077)-Hindu terminology.

**Ritthe-jhaankri** (1078)-This refers to instrumentalization and synecdoche. The lexicon refers to a person who is categorized on the basis of the thing/ instrument. It reflects religionisation, culturalisation, traditionalisation and underlexicalisation.

**Rit-bhanta** (way; manner; custom; system; usage, practice) (as a rule; keeping with custom, usage or convention) (custom, manner) (1078)-The explanation refers to religionisation, culturalisation, traditionalisation and underlexicalization.

**Rimborchche** (family god of the people of Sherpa community) (1078)-The term is an instance of ethnification, culturalisation, traditionalisation, regionalisation and underlexicalisation. The explanation does not provide complete information regarding the terminology.

**Rukmini** ((mythology) the first main queen of Krishna) (1080)-The term refers to a Hindu mythological character.

**Rudrabhishek** ((religious) a stream of water poured onto *Shiva linga*: the constant downpour of water on the image of Shiva) (1081)-The term refers to a Hindu ritual hence it is religionisation and culturalisation.

**Rudri** ((religious) a religious song dedicated to God Shiva, hymn in eulogy of God Shiva) (1081)-The term refers to a Hindu ritual hence it is regionalisation and culturalisation.

**Ruru-kshetra** (a religious site situated at the boundary or border of Palpa and Gulmi districts of Nepal) (1082)-The term refers to a holy place hence it is the instance of spatialisation. The lexicon also is falls in the category of religionisation, culturalisation, traditionalisation and

underlexicalization. The meaning only highlights the hinduized aspect rather than its original meaning.

**Rekha** (lines, marks, streaks, stripes) (1083)-Lexical item mentioned above is a neutral term but has been manipulated in such a manner that the real meaning is overlapped by the portrayed Hinduized meaning. The entry falls in the category of religionisation, underlexicalization and overlexicalization.

**Rekhi** ((Hindu ritual) line of rice-flour drawn by the priest before performing the religious ceremony) (a small line or streak) (1083)-This word refers to a performance which is used in a ritual of Hindu. It is instrumentalisation with the help of this one can identify one to be belonging to the specific group. The entry is the example of religionisation, traditionalisation and culturalisation.

**Rewati** ((astrology) name of the 27<sup>th</sup> constellation which contains thirty-two stars) (mythology) name of the wife of Balaram) (1085)-The given item is from Jyotish which is a Hindu subject matter hence the term is explained from the Hinduized version along with this it also refers to a Hindu mythic character.

**Resunga** (a religious or historical place situated in Gulmi district of Nepal) (1085)-The term refers to a holy place hence it is the instance of spatialisation. The lexicon also falls in the category of religionisation, culturalisation, traditionalisation and underlexicalization. The meaning only highlights the hinduized aspect rather than its original meaning.

**Raikriya** ((Hindu ritual) performance of obsequies after the death of tenth night; shortcut obsequies) (1085)-This is the lexical item which refers to a Hindu ritual.

**Rochana** (red powder offered to a deity) (any lustrous or attractive substance) (1086)-The lexical item refers to a thing which is used in Hindu rituals. This is an example of instrumentalisation and synecdoche.

**Roza** ((religious) the holy fasting kept by Muslims during the month of Ramazan) (1086)-This is an instance of religionisation, underlexicalization, exclusion, insult, derogation etc. the term is described in Hinduized version. It does not present the complete information about the term which justifies the vested interest of the lexicographers. It does not explain the questions like- which kind of *Musalmaan*, what age group, in which month, for how many days, what is the purpose, who they pray, etc.

**Rot** (a special type of bread offered to Gorakhanath, Bhairab and other Goddesses) (large and thick bread) (1087)-This word refers to a thing which is used in a ritual of Hindu. It is instrumentalisation with the help of this one can identify one to be belonging to the specific group.

**Ropan** ((Hindu ritual) drawing line of rice-flour soaked in water in marriage ceremony) (1087)-The lexical item refers to a thing which is used in Hindu rituals. This is an example of instrumentalisation and synecdoche.

**Rori** (crimson) (red dust put on forehead by devotees) (1088)-The word refers to a thing which is used in Hindu rituals. This is instrumentalisation and synecdoche.

**Rohini** ((astrology) fourth of twenty-seven stars) (cow) (the name of mistress of the Moon) (electricity, lightning) (a type of evergreen tree, kamala) (1088)-Jyotish shastra is one of the orient Hindu subjects. The word is from the same subject hence it is explained from that point of view. Another meaning provided is based on Sanskrit.

**Rohit** (of deep red color) (blood) (rhododendron) (a kind of deer) (a kind of fish) ((mythology) the son of the king Harish Chandra) (1088)-The entry is given many different meanings dominated by Hinduized and Sanskrit terminologies which clarifies the term to be religionisation. The reference to the Hindu mythic characters also reinforces the same set ideologies of the lexicographers.

**Raudra** (awful, terrible, frightful) (angry, hot-tempered) (anger, wrath) (awe, terror, fear) (1089)-it provides Hinduized religious meaning to the term. The entry is overlexicalized by providing more than enough description of the term.

To sum up, the above exploration, interpretation and analysis of all the lexical entries representing religions present that the lexicographers' who are mainly upper class; Hindu Brahmins have executed their ideologies in representing religions. They have customized some strategies to perpetrate asymmetry through the linguistic processes of lexicalization.

The major asymmetrical strategies:

**Festivals/Rituals:** *Rakshabandhan, Rajodarshan, Rateuli, Raanke, Ratomatasyendranath, Ritthe-jhaankri, Rudrabhishek, Rudri, Rekha, Rekhi, Raikriya, Rochana, Roza, Rot, Ropan, Rori*

**Generalization:** *Ramjaan, Raanke, Ritthe-jhaankri, Raikriya, Rochana, Roza,*

**Instrumentalisation:** *Ritthe-jhaankri, Rudrabhishek, Rekha, Rori*

**Underlexicalization:** *Rajaswala, Ramjaan, Ravi, Raanke, Ringigumba, Ritthe-jhaankri, Roza*

**Overlexicalization:** *Rajaswala, Ramayan, Rekha*

**Synecdoche:** *Roza*

**Culturalisation:** *Raksaal, Rajaswala, Rajodarshan, Ratnu, Rateuli, Ratha, Rama, Ramapati, Ratomatsyendranath, Ramayan, Ramoram, Raavan/ Raavanne, Raa/Raslila, Richo, Ritthe-jhaankri, Reet-bhanta, Rimborchche, Rudrabhishek, Rekhi, Raikriya, Rochana, Roza, Ropan, Rori, Raudra*

**Ethnification:** *Ritthe-jhaankri, Rimborchche, Roza*

**Negative naming/attribution:** *Rajaswala, Raavan/ Raavanne, Raahu, Raudra*

**Positive naming:** *Ritthe-jhaankri,*

**Name of god and goddess:** *Ranghadhiveta, Rana-chandi, Ranalaxmi, Rati, Ratna-paani-sambhav-kar, Rama, Ramapati, Rakhal, Raghav, Ram, Radha, Radhika, Ramanuj, Raahu, Rimborchche, Raudra*

**Myth/Mythical characters:** *Raghu, Ratan –naath, Rambha-rambhoru, Raka, Raghav, Ram, Radha, Radhika, Ramanuj, Raavan/ Raavanne, Raahu, Rukmini, Rohit*

**Instrumentalization:** *Ratha, Ramayan, Richo, Rekhi, Rochana, Rot, Ropan, Rori, Raudra*

**Hinduist perspective:** *Ranghadhiveta, Raja, Rajaswala, Rajoguna, Rajodarshan, Rajodharma, Ratnu, Rana-chandi, Ranalaxmi, Ratan –naath, Rati, Rateuli, Ratha, Rada, Ramjaan, Ramal, Rama, Ramapati, Rambha-rambhoru, Ravi, Rasa, Raka, Rakhal, Raghav, Ratomatsyendranath, Ram, Radha, Radhika, Ramayan, Ramanuj, Ramoram, Raavan/ Raavanne, Rashi, Raas/Raslila, Raahu, Richo, Ritthe-jhaankri, Reet-bhanta, Rimborchche, Rukmini, Roza, Ropan Rudrabhishek, Rekha, Rekhi, Rewati, Raikriya, Rochana, Rot, Rori, Rohini, Rohit, Raudra*

**Religious occupation:** *Ritthe-jhaankri, Rimborchche,*

**Sanskritized:** *Rajani, Rajoguna, Rajodarshan, Ratnu, Rama, Ravi, Rasa, Ramanuj, Richo, Rudrabhishek, Rekhi, Rewati, Raikriya, Raudra*

**Patriarchal point of view which trivializes, insult, exclude, dominate women:** *Raja, Rajaswala, Rajodarshan, Rajodharma, Rashi,*

**Euologisation:** *Raaj, Rajraj.*

**Holy/religious places/shrines/books/rivers:** *Ramayan, Rameshwar, Ringigumba, Rudrabhishek, Ruru –kshetra, Resunga, Rot*

Thus, the *Kosh* employs linguistic and lexical strategies which perpetrates asymmetry. Lexicographers' subjectivity is vented in the *Kosh*. The lexical items which are described from the Hinduized perspective are generalized in Hinduized form. Lexicographers' have used redundancy to highlight Hindu religion to show it is superior/dominant. Least important details of Hinduism are over lexicalized and many important issues of other religions are excluded, misrepresented, back grounded, under lexicalized/ over lexicalized, intensified or mitigated. This signifies that the whole *Kosh* reflects the psyche of Hindu Brahmin upper-class lexicographers. Lexicographers thus construct, deconstruct and reconstruct the social categories like religion based on their orientations.

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